

them should be left to the future and deliberate judgment of the people.

Mr. CHAY. No; you are mistaken. I recognized it only as a *pis aller*.

Mr. RIVES. A *pis aller* is about as much as is left to us. Not having the speech of the honorable Senator before me, I will not now contest the matter with him, though I may take occasion hereafter to refresh the recollection of the Senator. What, sir, was the bill of the Senator, which was sent to the President, but a *pis aller*? According to the Senator's own statement, it was a very different thing from what he would have made. In its location, in its name and character, and especially in the so-called compromise section, which the Senator tells us he introduced in a spirit of the extreme concession, he agreed to make it a different thing from an old-fashioned Bank of the United States, the *beau ideal* of currency and finance in the eyes of the Senator. The Senator's own bill, then, was but a *pis aller*, and there cannot be much choice I presume, between one *pis aller* and another.

The Senator says he found me, several years ago, in this half-way house, which after thorough riddling the roof had received in the breaking up of the pet bank system, he had supposed I would have abandoned. How could I find it in my heart, Mr. President, to abandon it, when I found the honorable Senator from Kentucky (even after what he calls the riddling of the roof) so anxious to take refuge in it, from the ruins of his own condemned and repudiated system, and where he actually took refuge for four long years, as I have already stated. When I first had the honor to meet the honorable Senator in this body, I found him, not occupying the humble but comfortable half-way house, which has given him shelter from the storm for the last four years, but a more lordly mansion, gaudy to look upon, but altogether unsafe to inhabit—old, decayed, rat-eaten, which has since tumbled to the ground with its own rottenness, devoted to destruction alike by the indignation of man and the wrath of heaven. Yet the honorable Senator unmindful of the past and heedless of the warnings of the present, which are still ringing in his ears, will hear of nothing but the instant reconstruction of this devoted edifice. In one thing, at least, the Senator does me great injustice, when, in the teeth of my explicit declaration that I was for regulating the custody of the public moneys by *law* before our adjournment, he says I am for going home, leaving the Treasury and the country in a lawless condition!

I owe it to myself, Mr. President, before I close, to say one or two words in regard to this Gorgon of a *Cabal* which the Senator tells us upon the authority of *Damo Rumor*, has been formed to break up the Cabinet, to dissolve the Whig party, and to form a new or third party. Although the Senator was pleased to acquit me of being a member of this supposed cabal, he yet seemed to have some lurking jealousies and suspicions in his mind on the subject. I will tell the honorable Senator, then, that I know of no such cabal; and I should really think that I was the last man that ought to be suspected of any wish or design to form a new or third party. I have shown myself, at all times, restive under mere party influence and control from any quarter. All party, in my humble judgment, tends, in its modern degeneracy, to *tyranny*, and is attended with serious hazard of sacrificing an honest sense of duty, and the great interests of the country, to an arbitrary lead, directed by other aims. I desire, therefore, to take upon myself no new party bonds, while I am anxious to fulfil, to the fullest extent that a sense of duty to the country will permit, every honorable engagement implied in existing ones. In regard to the breaking up of the Cabinet, I had hoped that I was as far above the suspicion of having any personal interest in such an event as any man. I have never sought office, but have often declined it; and will now give the honorable Senator from Kentucky a full quit-claim and release of all cabinet pretensions, now and forever. He may rest satisfied that he will never see me in any Cabinet, under this or any other Administration. During the brief remnant of my public life, the measure of my ambition will be filled by the humble, but honest part I may be permitted to take on this floor in consultations for the common good.

Having disposed of this rumor of a cabal, to the satisfaction I trust of the honorable Senator, I will tell him of another rumor I have heard, which I trust may be equally destitute of foundation. Rumor is busy in alleging that there is an organized dictatorship in permanent session in this Capitol, seeking to control the whole action of the Government, in both the Legislative and Executive branches, and sending deputation after deputation to the President of the United States, to teach him his duty and bring him to terms. I do not vouch for the correctness of this rumor. I humbly hope it may not be true; but, if it should unfortunately be so, I will say that it is fraught with far more danger to the regular and salutary action of our balanced Constitution, and to the liberties of the people, than any secret cabal that ever has existed or ever will exist.

*Mr. Rives' version of the Hanover speech seems to be abundantly sustained by the following extracts from it:

"Whether these ends" said Mr. Clay, indispensable to the well-being both of the People and the Government, are to be attained by sound and safe State Banks, carefully selected and properly distributed, or by a new Bank of the U. States, with such limitations, conditions and restrictions as have been indicated by experience, should be left to the arbitrament of enlightened public opinion."

And again he says: "It is to secure certain objects, without which society cannot prosper; and if, contrary to my apprehensions, these objects cannot be accomplished by dispensing with the agency of the Bank of the United States, and employing that of State Banks, all ought to rejoice and heartily acquiesce, and none would more than I should."

THE TIMES.



FAYETTE:

SATURDAY, OCTOBER, 2, 1841.

"WE ARE SATISFIED."

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13, 1841.

"I am perfectly persuaded of the absolute necessity of an institution, under the authority of Congress, to aid revenue and financial operations, and to give to the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges. Notwithstanding what has passed, I have confidence that the President will co-operate with the Legislature in overcoming all difficulties in the attainment of these objects." DANIEL WEBSTER.

The speeches of Messrs. CLAY and RIVES on the first veto message of the President, will be found in to-day's paper. These speeches—with those of the same gentlemen published in our two last papers—give a fair account of both sides of the Bank question. The Debate on the second veto, we will give when the crowded state of our columns will admit.

THE LETTERS OF RESIGNATION.

Below will be found the letters of Messrs. CRITTENDEN and EWING, tendering the resignation of their seats in the Cabinet of President TYLER; also, a letter from the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, to the editors of the National Intelligencer, giving his reasons for continuing to hold his station in the Cabinet, after the resignation of his colleagues. Another letter from Mr. Webster, to a friend in New York, on the same subject, is also given in connexion with them.

We confess we were astonished on reading the letter of Mr. Ewing. He has taken a bold step, and one which seems to have been pre-meditated, and the result of deep and deliberate reflection. The position in which he presents the President is a very delicate one; for every person must be aware that the President cannot condescend to a newspaper quarrel with a Secretary with whom there has been a misunderstanding. We hope it has been the result of misapprehension and that the honor, alike of the President and Mr. Ewing, may be preserved.

Mr. Webster's letters, in our humble opinion, throw much light on the subject. In his letter to the editors of the Intelligencer, he says "he is perfectly persuaded of the absolute necessity of an institution, under the authority of Congress, to aid revenue and financial operations, and to give to the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges." And again he says, in the same letter, "notwithstanding all that has passed, I have confidence that the President will co-operate with the Legislature in overcoming all difficulties in the attainment of these objects."

These assurances—emanating from the source they do—seem to us to be abundantly satisfactory. If Mr. Webster did not perfectly understand the President's views, he would be far from publishing such sentiments as are contained in his letters. And it is very evident, that if Mr. Webster has taken the responsibility of thus virtually giving the assurance that the President will yet, and is anxious to co-operate with Congress in the establishment of a Fiscal Agent, without his knowledge of the fact, that it would cause a rupture between them. And that this was his intention, no one will believe.

Taking into consideration then, that every other measure of the whigs has been accomplished but the establishment of a Fiscal Agent, and with these assurances before us of the creation of a proper one at an early day of the next session of Congress, is there any cause for despondency in the Whigs? Should it not rather bind them stronger together, and stimulate them to act in concert—to bring their undivided strength to bear on this great and important measure to the country? If, after another trial—after they have again met and made the attempt, we are disappointed, then will be time enough for ulterior measures.

We cannot see any possible good that will arise from denouncing the President, and driving him from our ranks, because he could not conscientiously give his sanction to the bills which have been presented him. No one regrets more than we do the failure of a concurrence between Congress and the Executive; no one is more thoroughly convinced of the absolute necessity of a National Institution for National purposes, than we are; but, because we failed in getting one at the extra session of Congress, we do not despair; we are willing to wait—make another trial, and if again unsuccessful, then, as before remarked, will be time enough for ulterior measures.

It is understood, says the Journal of Commerce, that a statement of the case be-

tween the President and the ex-Cabinet will soon be published by some of the friends of the former. When this statement is made, the issue between the President and Mr. Ewing will be better understood. At present, a judgment can be given only upon the *ex parte* evidence of Mr. Ewing, there being nothing to rebut it, except the fact of Daniel Webster remaining in the Cabinet, and sustaining the President.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11, 1841.

Sir: Circumstances have occurred in the course of your Administration, and chiefly in the exercise by you of the Veto power, which constrain me to believe that my longer continuance in office as a member of your Cabinet will neither be agreeable to you, useful to the country, nor honorable to myself.

Do me the justice, Mr. President, to believe that this conclusion has been adopted neither capriciously, nor in any spirit of party feeling or personal hostility, but from a sense of duty, which, mistaken though it may be, is yet so sincerely entertained, that I cheerfully sacrifice to it the advantages and distinctions of office.

Be pleased, therefore, to accept this as my resignation of the office of Secretary General of the United States.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

J. J. CRITTENDEN.

THE PRESIDENT.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Sept. 11, 1841.

Sir: After the most calm and careful consideration and viewing the subject in all the aspects in which it presents itself to my mind, I have come to the conclusion that I ought no longer to remain a member of your Cabinet. I therefore resign the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and beg you to accept this as my letter of resignation.

To avoid misunderstanding, I distinctly declare that I do not consider a difference of opinion as to the charter of a National Bank a sufficient reason for dissolving the ties which have existed between us. Though I look upon that measure as one of vast importance to the prosperity of the country, and though I should have deeply deplored your inability or unwillingness to accede to it, I have not, however, expressed through their representatives, still, upon this and this alone, unconnected with other controlling circumstances, I should not have felt bound to resign the place which I hold in your administration. But those controlling circumstances do exist, and I will, in my own justification, place them in connexion before you.

It is but just to you to say that the bill which first passed the two Houses of Congress, and which was returned with your objections on the 16th of August, did never, in its progress, as far as I know or believe, receive at any time either your expressed or implied assent. So far as that bill was known to me, or as I was consulted upon it, I endeavored to bring its provisions as nearly as possible in accordance with what I understood to be your views, and rather hoped than expected your approval. I knew the extent to which you were committed on the question. I knew the pertinacity with which you adhered to your expressed opinions, and I dreaded from the first the most disastrous consequences, when the project of compromise which I presented at an early day was rejected.

It is equally a matter of justice to you and to myself to say that the bill which I reported to the two Houses of Congress at the commencement of the session, in obedience to their call, was modified so as to meet your approbation. You may not, it is true, have read the bill throughout, and examined every part of it; but the 16th fundamental article, which became the contested question of principle, was freely discussed between us, and it was understood and unequivocally sanctioned by yourself. The last clause in the bill, also, which contained a reservation of power in Congress, was inserted on the 9th of June, in your presence, and with your approbation; though you at one time told me that, in giving your sanction to the bill, you would accompany it with an explanation of your understanding of that first clause.

In this condition of things, though I greatly regretted your Veto of the bill as it passed the two Houses of Congress, and though I foresaw the excitement and agitation it would produce among the People, yet, considering the changes which the bill had undergone in its passage, and its variance from the one you had agreed to sanction, I could not find in that act enough to disturb the confidential relations which existed between us. I was disposed to attribute this act, fraught with mischief as it was, to pure and honorable motives, and to a conscientious conviction on your part that the bill, in some of its provisions, conflicted with the Constitution. But that opinion of your course on the bill which has just been returned to Congress by your second Veto, I do not and cannot entertain. Recur to what has passed between us with respect to it, and you will at once perceive that such opinion is impossible.

On the morning of the 16th of August, I called at your chamber, and found you preparing the first Veto message, to be despatched to the Senate. The Secretary of War came in also, and you read a portion of the message to us. He observed that, though the Veto would create a great sensation in Congress, yet he thought the minds of our friends better prepared for it than they were some days ago, and he hoped it would be calmly received, especially as it did not shut out all hope of a bank. To this you replied, that you really thought there ought to be no difficulty about it; that you had sufficiently indicated in your Veto message what kind of a bank you would approve, and that Congress might, if they saw fit, pass such a one in three days.

The 18th being the day for our regular Cabinet meeting, we assembled, all except Messrs. Crittenden and Granger, and you told us that you had had a long conversation with Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant, who professed to come in behalf of the Whigs of the two Houses to endeavor to strike out some measures which would be generally acceptable. That you had your doubts about the propriety of conversing with them yourself, and thought it more proper that you should communicate with them through your constitutional advisers. You expressed a wish that the whole subject should be postponed till the next session of Congress. You spoke of the delay in the Senate of the consideration of your Veto Message, and expressed anxiety as to the tone and temper which the debate would assume.

Mr. Badger said that on inquiry he was happy to find that the best temper prevailed in the two Houses. He believed they were perfectly ready to take up the bill reported by the Secretary of the Treasury, and pass it at once. You replied, "Talk not to me of Mr. Ewing's bill; it contains that odious feature of local discounts which I have repudiated in my message." I then said to you, "I have no doubt, sir, that the House, having ascertained your views, will pass a bill in conformity to them, provided they can be satisfied that it would answer the purposes of the Treasury, and

relieve the country." You then said, "Cannot my Cabinet see that this is brought about? You must stand by me in this emergency. Cannot you see that a bill passes Congress such as I can approve without inconsistency?" I declared again my belief that such a bill might be passed. And you then said to me, "What do you understand to be my opinions? State them, so that I may see that there is no misapprehension about them."

I then said I understood you to be of the opinion that Congress might charter a bank in the District of Columbia, giving it its location here. To this you assented. That they might authorize such a bank to establish offices of discount and deposit in the several States, with the assent of the States. To this you replied, "Do not name discounts; they have been the source of the most abominable corruptions, and are wholly unnecessary to enable the bank to discharge its duties to the country and the Government."

I observed in reply that I was proposing nothing, but simply endeavoring to state what I had understood to be your opinion as to the powers which Congress might constitutionally confer on a bank; that on that point I stood corrected. I then proceeded to say that I understood you to be of opinion that Congress might authorize such bank to establish agencies in the several States, with power to deal in bills of exchange, without the assent of the States, to which you replied, "Yes, if they be foreign bills, or bills drawn in one State and payable in another. This is all the power necessary for transmitting the public funds and regulating exchanges and the currency."

Mr. WEBSTER then expressed, in strong terms, his opinion that such a charter would answer all just purposes of Government and be satisfactory to the People; and declared his preference for it over any which had been proposed, especially as it dispensed with the assent of the States to the creation of an institution necessary for carrying on the fiscal operations of Government. He examined it at some length, both as to its constitutionality and influence on the currency and exchanges, in all which views you expressed your concurrence, desired that such a bill should be introduced, and especially that it should go to the hands of some of your friends. To my inquiry whether Mr. Sergeant would be agreeable to you, you replied that he would. You especially requested Mr. Webster and myself to communicate with Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant on the subject, to whom you said you had promised to address a note, but you doubted not that this personal communication would be equally satisfactory.

You desired us, also, in communicating with these gentlemen, not to commit you personally, lest, this being recognised as your measure, it might be made a subject of comparison to your prejudice in the course of discussion. You and Mr. Webster then conversed about the particular wording of the 16th fundamental article, containing the grant of power to deal in exchanges, and of the connexion in which that grant should be introduced; you also spoke of the name of the institution, desiring that that should be changed. To this I objected, as it would probably be made a subject of ridicule, but you insisted that there was much in a name, and this institution ought not to be called a bank. Mr. Webster undertook to adapt it in this particular to your wishes. Mr. Bell then observed to Mr. Webster and myself that we had no time to lose; that if this were not immediately attended to, another bill, less acceptable, might be got up and reported. We replied that we should lose no time. Mr. Webster accordingly called on Messrs. Berrien and Sergeant immediately, and I waited on them by his appointment at five o'clock on the same day, and agreed upon the principles of the bill in accordance with your expressed wishes. And I am apprised of the fact, though it did not occur in my presence, that after the bill was drawn up, and before it was reported, it was seen and examined by yourself; that your attention was specially called to the 16th fundamental article; that on full examination you concurred in its provisions; that at the same time its name was so modified as to meet your approbation; and the bill was reported and passed, in all essential particulars, as it was when it came through your hands.

You asked Mr. Webster and myself to prepare and present you an argument touching the constitutionality of the bill; and before those arguments could be prepared and read by you, you declared, as I heard and believed, to gentlemen, members of the House, that you would cut off your right hand rather than approve it. After this new resolution was taken, you asked and earnestly urged the members of your Cabinet to postpone the bill; but you would neither give yourself, nor suffer them to give, any assurance of your future course, in case of such postponement. By some of us, and I myself was one, the effort was made to gratify your wishes in the only way in which it could be done with propriety; that is, by obtaining the general concurrence of the two Whig members of the Houses in the postponement. It failed, as I have reason to believe, because you would give no assurance that the delay was not sought as a means and occasion for hostile movements. During this season of deep feeling and earnest exertion upon our part, while we were zealously devoting our talents and influence to serve and to sustain you, the very secrets of our Cabinet councils made their appearance in an infamous paper printed in a neighboring city, the columns of which were daily charged with flattery of yourself and foul abuse of your Cabinet. All this I bore; for I felt that my services, so long as they could avail, were due to the nation—to that great and magnanimous people, whose suffrages elevated your predecessor to the station which you now fill, and whose united voices approved his act, when he summoned us around him to be his counselors; and I felt that what was due to his memory, to the injunctions which he left us in his last dying words, and to the people whose servants we were, had not all been performed until every means was tried, and every hope had failed of carrying out the true principles upon which the mighty movement was founded that elevated him and you to power.

This bill, framed and fashioned according to your own suggestions, in the initiation of which I and another member of your Cabinet were made by you the agents and negotiators, was passed by large majorities through the two Houses of Congress, and sent to you, and you rejected it. Important as was the part which I had taken, at your request, in the origination of this bill, and deeply as I was committed for your action upon it, you never consulted me on the subject of the Veto Message. You did not even refer to it in conversation, and

the first notice I had of its contents was derived from rumor.

And to me, at least, you have done nothing to wipe away the personal indignity arising out of the act. I gathered, it is true, from your conversation, shortly after the bill had passed the House, that you had a strong purpose to reject it; but nothing was said like softening or apology to me, either in reference to myself or to those with whom I had communicated at your request, and who had acted themselves and induced the two Houses to act upon the faith of that communication. And, strange as it may seem, the Veto Message attacks in an especial manner the very provisions which were inserted at your request; and even the name of the corporation, which was not only agreed to by you, but especially changed to meet your expressed wishes, is made the subject of your criticism. Different men might view this transaction in different points of light, but, under these circumstances, as a matter of personal honor, it would be hard for me to remain of your counsel, to seal my lips and leave unexplained and undisclosed where lies in this transaction the departure from straightforwardness and candor. So far indeed from admitting the encouragement which you gave to this bill in its inception, and explaining and excusing your sudden and violent hostility towards it, you throw into your Veto Message an interrogatory equivalent to an assertion that it was such a bill as you had already declared could not receive your sanction. Such is the obvious effect of the first interrogatory clause on the second page. It has all the force of an assertion without its open fairness. I have met and refuted this, the necessary inference from your language, in my preceding statement, the correctness of which you are sure will not call in question.

Your veto to the first bill you rested on constitutional ground and the high convictions of conscience; and no man, in my opinion, had a right to question your sincerity. I so said, and I so acted, for through all the contest and collision that arose out of that act, you had my adherence and support. But how is it with respect to this? The subject of a bank is not new to you; it is more than twenty years that you have made it an object of consideration and of study, especially in its connexion with the constitutional powers of the General Government. You, therefore, could not be and you were not taken unprepared on this question. The bill which I reported to Congress, with your approbation, at the commencement of the session, had the clause relating to agencies, and the power to deal in exchanges, as strongly developed as the one you have now rejected, and equally without the assent of the States. You referred specially and with approbation to that clause, many days after, in a conversation held in the Department of State. You sanctioned it in this particular bill as detailed above. And no doubt was thrown out on the subject by you, in my hearing, or within my knowledge, until the letter of Mr. Berrien came to your hands. Soon after the reading of that letter, you threw out strong intimations that you would veto the bill if it were not postponed. That letter I did and do most unequivocally condemn; but it did not affect the constitutionality of the bill, or justify you in rejecting it on that ground; it could affect only the expediency of your action; and, whatever you may now believe as to the scruples existing in your mind, in this and in a kindred source there is strong ground to believe they have their origin.

If I be right in this, and I doubt not I am, here is a great public measure demanded by the country, passed upon and approved by the Representatives of the States and the People, rejected by you as President on grounds having no origin in conscience, and no reference to the public good. The rejection of this measure, too, continues the purse with the sword in the hands of the Executive, from which we strove to wrest it in the contest which elevated your predecessor and you to power. I cannot concur in this your course of policy. In our part of office my opinions remain unchanged. I cannot abandon the principles for which, during all my political career, I have struggled; especially I cannot be one of the instruments by which the Executive wields these combined, accumulated, and dangerous powers.

These, sir, are the reasons for the important step which I have felt it my duty to take, and I submit them as its justification. I am, very respectfully, yours,

T. EWING.

To the President.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 13, 1841.

To Messrs. GALES & SEATON:

GENTLEMEN:—Lost any misapprehension should exist, as to the reasons which have led me to differ from the course pursued by my late colleagues. I wish to say that I remain in my place, first, because I have seen no sufficient reason for the dissolution of the late Cabinet, by the voluntary act of its own members.

I am perfectly persuaded of the absolute necessity of an institution, under the authority of Congress, to aid the revenue and financial operations, and to give the country the blessings of a good currency and cheap exchanges.

Notwithstanding what has passed, I have confidence that the President will co-operate with the Legislature in overcoming all difficulties in the attainment of these objects; and it is to the union of the Whig party—by which I mean the whole party, the Whig President, the Whig Congress, and the Whig People—that I look for a realization of our wishes. I can look no where else.

In the second place, if I had seen reasons to resign my office, I should not have done so without giving the President reasonable notice, and affording him time to select the hands to which he should confide the delicate and important affairs now pending in this Department.

I am, gentlemen, respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11, 1841.

My Dear Sir:—I thank you for your kind and friendly letter.

You will have learned that Messrs. Ewing, Bell, Badger and Crittenden, have resigned their respective offices. Probably Mr. Granger may feel bound to follow the example. This occurrence can hardly cause you the same degree of regret which it has occasioned to me; as they are not only my friends, but persons with whom I have had, for some time, a daily official intercourse. I could not partake in this movement.

It is supposed to be justified, I presume, by the differences which have arisen between the President and Congress, upon the means of establishing a fiscal agency, and restoring a sound state of the currency; and other collateral matters, growing out of these differences. I regret these differences as deeply as any man; but I have not been able to see in what manner the resignation of the Cabinet was likely either to remove or mitigate the evils produced by them.

On the contrary, my only reliance for a remedy for those evils has been, and is, on the union, conciliation and perseverance of the whole Whig party, and I by no means despair of seeing yet accomplished, by these means, all that we desire. It may render us more patient under disappointment in regard to one measure, to recollect, as is justly stated by the President in his last message, how great a number of important measures have been already successfully carried through. I hardly know when such a mass of business has been despatched in a single session of Congress.

The annual winter session is now near at hand; the same Congress is again to assemble, and feeling as deeply as I ever did, the indispensable necessity of some suitable provisions for the keeping of the public money, for aid to the operation of the Treasury, and to the high public interests of currency and exchange, I am not in haste to believe that the party which has now the predominance will not, in these respects, yet fulfill the expectations of the country. If it shall not, then our condition is forlorn indeed. But for one, I will not give up the hope.

My particular connection with the administration, however, is with another Department. I think very humbly—none can think more humbly—of the value of the services which I am able to render the public in that post. But as there is, so far as I know, on all subjects affecting our foreign relations, a concurrence in opinion between the President and myself; and as there is nothing to disturb the harmony of our intercourse, I have not felt it consistent with the duty which I owe to the country, to run the risk, by any sudden or abrupt proceeding, of embarrassing the Executive, in regard to subjects and questions now immediately pending, and which immediately affect the preservation of the peace of the country.

I am, dear sir, with constant regard,

Yours, &c. &c.

(Signed) DANIEL WEBSTER.

H. KETCHUM, Esq., New York.

FOR THE TIMES.

Messrs. Benson & Green:—Before yielding any attention to the statements contained in the recent letter of "T. Ewing," I desire to be informed by what process he *unwares* himself, whereby to permit him to reveal, without perjury and dishonor, the alleged consultations between the President and his Secretaries? Never having had much faith in a man who turned "States' evidence," I confess myself inclined to pay even less regard to the statements of one, whether hearsay or otherwise, who shamelessly violates his honor (on which alone they depend) in the very act of their revelation!

Waiving this, however, the very nature of cabinet consultations implies that the opinions of men may be changed and ought to change under argument and reflection—yet the whole gist of the charge of this conscientious and honorable Secretary consists in the fact that he *understood* the President to yield the constitutional power of Congress to make a bank upon certain principles on one day, and to have refused his concurrence to one, the details of which he saw or heard of the next day! As if Mr. Ewing knew better the kind of Exchange bank, spoken of most particularly between Mr. Webster and the President, than both of these gentlemen did, and yet do, themselves!

All the rest, however lawyer-like, and however calculated to mislead a careless or prejudiced reader, is but moonshine, clap-trap and hear-say, to which the President is forever precluded from replying, as well from the nature of his own office as from the voluntary degradation of his accuser. Mr. Ewing knew all this, and his "bold and fearless" letter, so much egotized by those who imagine it will serve them, is strikingly akin to the "bravery" of a bully who kicks an adversary when he is tied, or the trustee who has transcended the authority and forfeited the confidence of his principal, and seeks to escape in the clamour of his own calumnies!

In the times of ancient chivalry, a poisoned poniard was broken in the heart of the demon who employed it in combat, and to the present day honorable men contend with honorable arms alone. There is hence no surprise (the first moments of excitement and astonishment having already passed by) to find numbers who regret the position of the President on the Bank Question utterly refuse to bear any part in his arraignment, upon the eaves-dropping and garbled information which has been thrust upon the country through the malevolence and infatuation of this low bred, factious and unprincipled spy.

LAS CASSES.

A friend of ours, who intends leaving the place in a few days, has a large number of his books scattered amongst his friends, which have been borrowed from him. "A word to the wise," &c.